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ABSTRACT

This paper presents findings of a study that determined whether the educational benefits received by four African-American communities in Louisiana were a product of political interaction. The following theoretical frameworks were used: Floyd Hunter's (1953) method for identifying "community influentials," Robert Dahl's (1963) method for the objective study of policy formation, and social-semiotics theory. Data were collected through interviews with over 40 individuals, a survey of a total of 168 European-American and African-American educational leaders from the four communities, and content analysis of school board minutes. Findings indicate that the higher the median income per African-American family, the higher the frequency of policy outputs for African-Americans. A high positive correlation existed between progressive/traditionalism and policy outputs and between interaction frequency and educational policy. Three types of policy benefits were identified--symbolic, distributive, and evaluative. These concepts were converted to frequency scores and sorted by a panel of seven judges (university professors, K-12 school leaders, and community informants). The scores were compared and correlated with the variables: progressive/traditionalism, interaction frequency, and socioeconomic factors. The findings illustrate the practical use of formulating a grammar to account for and to guide critical thinking. Two figures and 20 tables are included. (LMI)

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ED 384 110

EDUCATION GAINS A PRODUCT OF POLITICAL ACTION: IDEOLOGICAL SIGNS OF BLACK AND WHITE LEADERSHIP IN LOUISIANA

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PREFACE

The intent of this paper is to analyze educational policy making in the Deep South. The geographical area for this study is the State of Louisiana. Identified for analysis are four communities along a rural/urban continuum. The focus of the paper is on the pattern of political interaction which takes place between education leaders in black and white communities. In addition, the mission of the report is to assess who gets what, where, and how? The method used in the study is a field study approach with a mixture of techniques which flows from several traditions (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994).

Floyd Hunter's (1953) method for identifying "community influentials" is used. This approach is complemented by Robert Dahl's (1963) method for the "objective study" of concrete issues in education policy making. The final method used in this study comes from the field of social "semiotics"... especially as it relates to the analysis of ideological texts and their contexts. Four questions are used to direct this research project:

I. What is the relationship of the level of African-American economic condition to educational policy outputs?

II. Is there a correlation in the frequency of political interaction between African-Americans and European-Americans and educational policy outputs?

III. What is the relationship between progressivism/traditionalism to educational policy outputs?

IV. Is there a significant difference in the benefit patterns across a rural/urban continuum?

The significance of the study is that this kind of research has not been done in the State of Louisiana. The Deep South is fertile ground for political analysis given the emergence of the "New South". In addition, it provides a "practical grammar" for research, analysis, and action. Finally, the researcher had planned to include ethnographic interpretations and comments in this report. However, due to time constraints that information was not included in this paper.

INTRODUCTION

It is not uncommon for researchers and social commentators to look for historical events which provide a theme, with terms, for critical analysis. Themes can take at least two forms: they can be formulated in scientific language or they can be expressed in subjective codes to convey shared ideologies. It depends on the purpose of the writer. Science is supposed to be value-free and divested of ideological constraints. However, ideologies are contextual. They are saturated with intentions and directed by value systems. These value systems are rooted in self interest. According to Theodorson (1969), an ideology is a "system of interdependent ideas (beliefs, traditions, principles, and myths) held by a social group which reflects, rationalizes, and defends its particular norms." These norms form the foundation for social, moral, religious, political and economic behavior. "Ideologies serve as logical and philosophical justifications for a group's pattern of behavior." In Louisiana, an ideological event occurred in 1991.

In the area of politics, Edwin Edwards defeated David Duke for the Governorship of the State of Louisiana. A cursory review of the election returns from communities across the State shows a clear voting pattern by ethnicity. The popular press maintained that it was a coalition of African-American communities along with powerful elements of the Louisiana Business Community that gave Governor Edwards the victory. As with most elections of this sort, educational concerns take center stage along with an assortment of other issues associated with: economic development, social services, and political patronage. Certainly, to the African-American community and its leadership no issue is of greater concern than the quality of education and equal educational opportunity. A significant testament to this was underscored

recently. The Louisiana State Legislature announced that due to budgetary short falls in the State Treasury, funds for higher education would be decreased. Students' tuition and fees would be increased. Presidents from several traditional white universities sought to build a coalition with presidents of historically black colleges, and universities, (HBCU). This was due to the perception that the Louisiana's Black Caucus was very sympathetic to the needs of students and faculty. (The Caucus has strong ties to HBCUs). In addition, K-12 education issues across the State are monitored by the Black Caucus very closely. They are scrutinized because of the belief that if upward mobility is to occur, it will be predetermined by the quality and effectiveness of education. In addition, because several school districts are under desegregation suits designed to reduce historical disparities in educational benefits, school policy makers are monitored very closely. Since the minority community makes-up about one third of the State's population, they have the potential to marshall strong voting support on policy issues affecting education.

According to the Louisiana Annual Planning Report (1992), the State has an estimated population of 4,251,560. Louisiana's minority population totals approximately 1,389,258 or 32.68%. "The latest population estimate shows that seventy percent of the State's population reside within nineteen Metropolitan Statistical Areas, while the remaining thirty percent are located in rural areas". The 64 parishes are serviced by 66 school districts. The total number of students enrolled in school districts for this study are: urban city 86,300; suburban area 54,650; small city 29,137; and rural town 18,066. The reader should note that although these numbers appear inflated, the school districts in Louisiana, frequently, cover the whole parish and not just the incorporated township. (Louisiana 1990 Census of Population).

PURPOSE

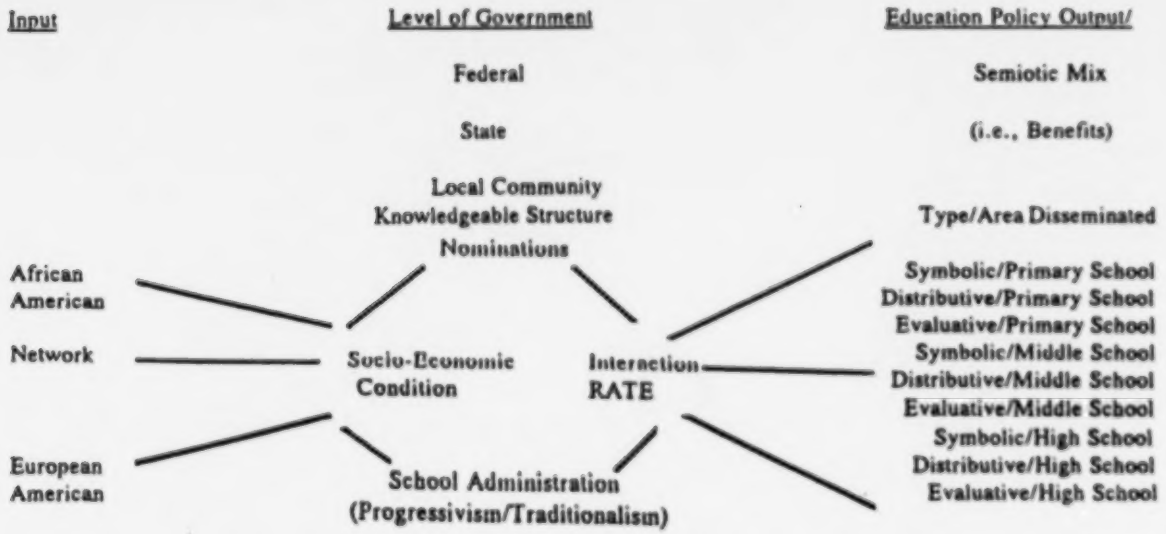
The purpose of this study is to determined whether the educational benefits received by four African-American communities in the State of Louisiana are a product of political interaction. Over the last two decades, researchers have given considerable attention to ideological issues in education (Greenfield, 1974; Bowers, 1977; Karabel and Halsey, 1977; Giroux, 1981; Kimbrough, 1982; Apple and Weis, 1983; Popkewitz, 1984; Hester, 1976 and 1988; Everhart, 1988; and Greenfield, 1993). Nowhere is the topic more keenly debated than by scholars in the politics of schooling (Freire, 1983 and 1985; Marshall, 1993). Because education systems are composed of interest groups competing for scarce resources, ideological conflicts frequently surface. In view of the above, the purpose of this research is to determine if the pattern of education benefits distributed to four African-American communities in Louisiana can be used as indicators (or symbols) of political action. In addition, can these benefits be construed as a "semiotic system" to frame a language which gives voice to the nature of political behavior? The researcher will demonstrate that they can. The specific objective of this paper is to show how the researcher sets about to uncover a coherent theory which underlies the facts. In addition, the researcher will show how the theory is "grounded" within facts (Borg and Gall, 1989). That theory, in the main, is that educational gains are a function of political and ideological orientation. The method used in this study comports well with the notion espoused by Levi-Strauss and his followers. They conceive of structure as a set of rational and logical principles which generate the surface structure of social-cultural phenomena (Rossi, 1983). They maintain that "semiotic structuralist" seek principles to unveil and analyze the constitutive role of deep symbolic structures in community life.

PERSPECTIVE

The theoretical framework used in this study comes from four traditional areas of study. They are: Political Science, Sociology, Educational Administration, and Anthropology. First Easton (1965) offered a conceptual framework for analyzing political system. He represented political behavior as an "open system" shaped by: cooperation, competition, conflict, and accommodation. The system is driven by the need for "inputs and outputs" from a demanding population in the social-cultural environment. It is goal directed. Interfaced with this view are those of Robert Dahl (1961) who argued for the study of "concrete issues" in the study of community power. Dahl (1961) took exception to Floyd Hunter's (1953) method for the study of community power structure in Regional City (Atlanta Georgia) that focused on the impressions of community "knowledgeable" to identify the "influential persons" in the community. The specific procedure for this study emanates from the descriptive method and technique outlined by McCarty and Ramsey (1968) where they devised a model to analyze styles of political action. They used a sample of four communities along a rural-urban continuum. The method they used was comparative and non parametric. It involved action research and participant observation. In addition to the foregoing protocol, this study uses the "ethnographic" procedure to obtain the views of persons impacted by the political process. Finally, analytical concepts are garnered from the literature of "critical theorists" to determine their utility in facilitating explanation and practical action (Robinson, 1994). In order to get a better vision of the perspective that is being employed, the following diagram is presented to expedite the generation of relevant questions and hypotheses.

A MODEL FOR RESEARCHING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INTERACTION RATE, AND POLICY OUTPUT FOR AFRICAN AMERICANS

FIGURE 1



This model reads from left to right. It is explained by the specific problem and hypotheses. The variables and all important terms are defined in the section on definition of terms. In order to conserve space the acronym (AA) will be used to refer to African-Americans and (EA) will be used to designate European Americans. Also note that "race" is a "nominal parameter". "Socio-economic condition" is a "graduated parameter"; they are used as contextual and structural variables.

SPECIFIC PROBLEM AND ENSUING HYPOTHESIS

The specific question posed by this research is as follows:

What is the relationship between education policy output for four A.A. communities and the level of economic condition in those communities; the frequency of political interaction between the leadership of the A.A. communities and school policy makers; and the progressive or traditional attitude of school policy makers? This research will use the output function of a political systems model with "semiotic indicators" to represent the effects of political interaction.

The investigation focuses on four specific problems. These concerns are formed into hypotheses composed of the following variables: economic conditions, interaction rate, progressivism/traditionalism, and their association to educational policy output variables. They are:

I. What is the relationship of the level of A.A. economic condition to educational policy outputs?

H1-The higher the median income per A.A. families, the higher the frequency of policy outputs for A.A.s.

H2-The higher the mean level of adult education for A.A.s, the higher the frequency of policy outputs for A.A.s.

H3-A high socio-economic condition for A.A.s will be associated with a high frequency of political interaction.

II. What is the relationship of frequency of political interaction to educational policy output?

H1-The higher the frequency of political interaction between A.A. leaders and the Community Power Structure, the higher the frequency of educational policy outputs.

H2-The higher the congruence between the respective A.A. communities on interaction frequency, the higher their congruence on the frequency of educational policy outputs.

H3-There will be a high congruence between interaction frequency, median income per family, mean grade level attained, and the frequency of educational policy outputs for A.A.s in the respective communities.

III. What is the relationship between progressivism or traditionalism to education policy output?

H1-A high mean score on progressivism/traditionalism will be associated with high frequency of educational policy output.

IV. Is there a difference in the benefit patterns across a rural/urban continuum?

H1-There is no significant difference in the allocation of symbolic, distributive, and evaluative benefits along the rural/urban continuum of A.A. communities.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

1. African Americans: They are citizens of the United States residing in rural/urban communities in Louisiana. According to Blau (1974), they represent a "quai-social" caste. This is the case in Louisiana Society. Their ancestors were brought from Africa as slaves. That heritage has marked them symbolically, and historically, as a sub-culture. The A.A. community is a frequent focal point of "collective representations" formulated by the dominant culture--especially as it relates to the "authoritative allocation" of "coded" values. According to Blau (1974) race is a "nominal" parameter. It divides populations into subgroups with boundaries.

2. Economic State: This concept means the standard of living as indicated by the Government Census defined by the "median income per family" and the "mean grade level" attained in education for the respective A.A. communities. This is a structural variable. It comports with Blau's (1974) definition of a "graduated parameter".

3. Political Interaction: This concept refers to the action which takes place between individuals in various social roles who mutually interact with one another to bring about political objectives. It is operationally defined as the degree of familiarity among different power groups in a community (Schulze, 1961). This is a structural variable in this study; it conforms to the definition of a "graduated" measure.

4. Progressivism/Traditionalism: This concept is defined as the degree of progressivism/traditionalism measured by the Kerlinger Educational Scale VII. This study will use the mean as the appropriate statistic. It will be scored by computing the means of the separate and combined directional scores of a Likert type scale (Kerlinger, 1967). It is used as a contextual variable in this study.

5. Policy Output: This concept refers to the educational benefits received by the A.A. communities. Scribner (1966) defined these policies as the results of demands which have been processed into either public tributes, curriculum offerings, instructional materials, personnel services, and material supports (i.e., forms of financial support from the state and local level). They can be conceived as symbolic, distributive, and evaluative indicators. They account for the total range of benefits for this study. They provide a grammar for generating the text of the Louisiana situation. The frequency of their occurrence over a three-year period will provide the measure for this research (i.e., 1990-1993). Some examples of these "semiotic signs" are: symbolic benefits (i.e., flags, posters, displays, public tributes, etc.); distributive benefits (i.e., resources expended on buildings, curriculum, salaries, consultative services, etc); and evaluative benefits (i.e., pre- and post-test measures capable of indicating change in intellectual and attitudinal behavior of students). These policy outputs are combined with other variables in an input/output framework to analyze whether policy outputs in education are a product of political interaction. They can also be negative or positive. They comport with Blau's (1974) definition of "graduated parameters".

6. Local Power Structure: This is the total network of power relations within a community, both formal and informal, which determines major decisions and actions. The

power structure, then, is more than the official leaders and recognized political structure, and includes influential individuals and interest groups (Theodorson, 1969). Operationally, power is the frequency with which these actors indicate who among them has power in the decision-making network to influence other individuals' actions on issues in education. See Blau (1977) and Fararo (1981) for an elaboration on "biased network" and "graduated parameters." Their notions capture some methodological issues addressed here--in sociological terms.

7. Social Semiotics: Semiotics has been defined as the science and life of signs in society by Saussure (1974). According to Hodge & Kress (1988), mainstream semiotics emphasizes structures and codes...." This study focuses; however, on the function and social uses of semiotic systems in the social construction of reality, via education.

METHOD

A field study method is used in this research. The unit of analysis is the social system or school district in which a single superintendent serves as chief administrator (McCarty and Ramsey, 1968). The population to which the hypothesis of this study applies consists of all the school districts in the State of Louisiana where African-Americans reside in numbers comparable to the sample. They are: Cresant City, Cajun City, River City, and New Hope. (The reader should note that pseudonyms have been used to disguise the participating communities).

Table I: Urban/Rural
Population of African American
Students Enrolled in Four Louisiana School Districts

COMMUNITY	SCHOOL POPULATION	TYPE	% BLACK
Cresant City	86,300	Urban	76,510
River City	54,650	Suburban	20,563
Cajun City	29,137	Small City	9,314
New Hope	18,066	Rural	3,861

These figures are from the 1991-92 Louisiana Department of Education: Annual Financial and Statistical Report Revised 1993. They provided a stratified sample selected according to the community's size and type (i.e., large urban, suburban, small city, and rural). They have approximately proportional African-American school populations that track the State's Metropolitan Statistical Areas average. The data from these communities are being collected by employing three techniques: interview schedules, questionnaires, and content analysis. It should be noted that two scales will be used to supplement the above framework. They are: Schulze's Acquaintanceship Scale (1961). It measures the degree of familiarity among different power groups from the respective communities. In addition, the researcher administered Kerlinger's (1967) Education Scale--E S VII. It is designed to measure the "Progressive" or "Traditional Attitudes" of the Board of Education members for the respective communities.

The final technique involves a content analysis of school board minutes. The method employed will be similar to the procedure outlined by Dahl (1961) for studying issues that have been converted into policy outputs. The total number of benefits will be taken for a period of three years. These data are ranked and correlated using Spearman's Rank Order Correlation Method. Also, the Chi-square test of significance is employed to measure policy output for the

four communities. In addition, a panel of seven judges identified and sorted the policy types (i.e., benefits) along a continuum. The continuum is composed of cells for Symbolic, Distributive, and Evaluative Benefits. These cells will be converted into a "semiotic sign system" to unveil ideological orientations.

PROCEDURE

In order to operationalize the model that is being used the research was divided into three phases. These phases are characterized as the subjective, the orientation, and the objective phases. They represent the types of qualitative and quantitative tools used in this study (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). In addition, they form the procedures through which the samples must be processed in order for the goals of this study to be realized. To expedite the operational aspects of the model, a field study approach was used. This allowed the researcher to observe actors, events, and issues directly and to report on those that have import for this investigation.

The subjective phase, the first step in the study, was to locate persons knowledgeable in community affairs for the four communities. Similar to Hunter (1953), a list of names was obtained composed of knowledgeables personalities. They occupied positions of prominence in civic organizations, business establishments, and education institutions. In addition, office holders in town government and prominent persons of wealth status were included on the roster. The knowledgeable individuals acted as community informants. They identified community leaders. In order to manage and control the inordinate amount of data anticipated from this procedure, the following scheme was devised. The four communities used for comparison where coded. Using the numerals 001, 002, 003, and 004, the towns were represented as four

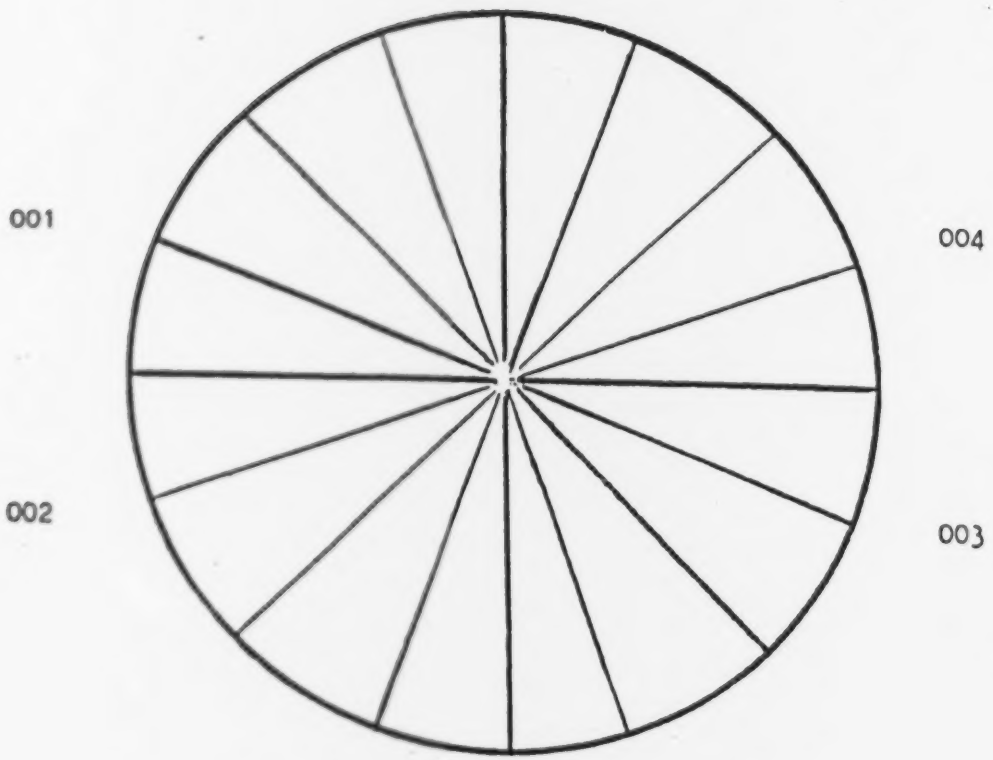
quadrants on a circular diagram. The diagram represents the first in a series of systematic steps to scale the subjective referent--community leaders in education using Schulze's (1961) scale (See Figure 2).

The reader should note that all surveys and questionnaires forwarded to the respective communities were prefaced with the appropriate code to differentiate between the sources of the data. Table II reveals the sampling strategy.

Each community (i.e., quadrant) was subdivided into for subcategories to facilitate the sampling of the community sages. These knowledgeable persons represented the following areas of community activities: education, business, politics, and civic organizations. These sub-categories were constructed by rank ordering the institutions and listing their chief administrator and top executives. The criteria used for ranking the institutions and knowledgeable individuals are given below. Table II shows the sample size generated from this procedure. Selected were top individuals with a high probable degree of knowledge about their community's affairs as it relates to the African-American population.

Figure 2

Coded Model Used for Sampling Community Knowledgeables and Informants



Knowledgeables people were selected from both the African-American and European-American populations. The "knowledgeables" in turn nominated leaders in education. The sample sizes were selected because they were more manageable.

Table II

Procedure Used for Sampling Community's Knowledgeable Individuals

	(1)	(2)	(3)*	
			Break Down of Knowledgeables For Each Ethnic Population	
Item	Code	Sample Size	Whites	Blacks
1	001	106	53	53
2	002	65	33	32
3	003	57	27	30
4	004	40	22	18

Column 1 is the community code
Column 2 is the size of the sample
Column 3 is the sample break down between knowledgeable whites and African Americans.

*The reader is reminded that the method employed here is consistent with Hunter's approach. Hunter reports: "Men are ranked as "knowledgeable" and classified by other men in some degree, by wealth or the symbols of wealth." However, Hunter offers no reason for his sample size other than noting the numbers selected were more manageable (Hunter, pp. 10-11, 953).

If suffices to note Hunter's position on the selection of the sample:

> ..the men of power were located by finding persons in prominent positions in four groups...that they may be assumed to have power connections. Through a process of selection, utilizing a cross section of judges in determining leadership rank...a rather long list of possible power leadership candidates was cut down to manageable size for the purpose of this study... Four persons in top levels of power were selected from more than 175 names...[Hunter 1953, (p.11) offers no other reason for delimiting his sample size].

Using Hunter's method as a guide the analyst prepared a case study notebook of each community. This notebook was generated out of notes taken in the preliminary investigation of each town. After recording a brief history of the community and documenting aspects of the governmental structure, the analyst divided the notebook into two parts. Part I presented a list of "knowledgeable whites" in public and private positions informed about their communities' educational affairs. They were sorted into the following four categories: business, education, politics, and social service organizations. The names composing these lists were generated from the following sources. A list of each community's business organizations was obtained from the Parish Assessors Office. The businesses on the list were rank ordered by their assessed evaluation.

This procedure relates to identifying knowledgeable persons by noting their prominence as indicated by assets. The assumption here is that there is a high correlation between wealth, social position, and persons informed. The assessed evaluation of businesses for each community was obtained for 1990-93.

Additional information on certain businesses was obtained from Dun and Bradstreet's Million Dollar Director and a companion volume Dun and Bradstreet's Middle Market Directory 1992. The last two documents supplemented the Standard and Poor's Register of Business Directors and Executives 1993 in providing names to generate a mailing list of business informants. The whole procedure provided an ordinal scale of the business wealth of each community. In addition to listing addresses and telephone numbers for organizations and executives, a summary statement of personal data was recorded for executives mentioned most frequently--in preliminary interviews--as having influence in educational affairs. These preliminary interviews

were conducted with educators, bankers, newspaper editors, reporters , politicians, and clergymen. After rank ordering the business organization for the respective communities; a similar procedure was followed in the remaining categories. As an example, the respective communities' politicians were ranked by the offices they hold. (The purpose of the ranking was to efficiently identify and locate politicians selected as informants). This information was obtained from the Louisiana Secretary of State's office. Along with information as to where they could be reached, personal notes were recorded for those mentioned frequently as being influential in education affairs.

The next category of ranked informants were the educators. They were ordered by their official rank in the school system's hierarchy. The board members were listed first, with subordinates recorded in descending order. The fourth category of knowledgeable individuals located in this study were the social-service organizations. Many of these organizations were identified through the (1993) Louisiana Lifeline Resource Guide To State Services. Also, church affiliated organizations were contacted. Since many of these organizations operate from budgets generated from public funds, their budgets are open to public scrutiny. They were ranked in this study by the amount of their budgets.

In sum, the ranking was done to efficiently locate and identify those persons in the community assumed to be the most informed. This method provided a convenient index for cross-filing informants by organization, position, and frequency of their selection (i.e., as knowledgeable individuals). Likewise, the appropriate information on where they could be contacted was recorded. When possible, a personal summary sheet on the directors most frequently mentioned as knowledgeables was recorded.

Part II of the case-study notebook was, likewise, composed of four categories of knowledgeable African-Americans. The categories have been mentioned earlier. However, for the sake of clarity, they are presented again. In the category of education, African American teachers and administrators comprised the list of knowledgeable persons. In the category of politics, elected African-American leaders, along with political and social activist groups, comprised the list of informants. A list of African-American businesses were also recorded in the notebook. They comprised the business category along the dimension of community informant. Part II also highlighted proposals and brochures presented for public information on the type of African-American social programs offered in the respective communities. Particular attention is given here to the funding sources and history of the programs.

Informed African-American were ordered by their relative rank in the organization which afforded them their greatest political and social visibility. These organizations, of course, corresponded to the categories mentioned. Those knowledgeable African-American having control over budgets or services for their community were particularly noted. This was possible because many of the programs with African-American directors are wholly or partly sponsored by the state or Federal Government Funds. As mentioned, funds from government sources are a matter of public record.

Accordingly, each case study contained the "median family income" and the "mean educational level" for each African-American population. Information on these variables were extracted from the 1990 Census for the communities comprising the sample. Both sections (i.e., Parts I and II of the case-study notebooks) were supplemented by cross-filing newspaper reports of issues and actors involved in political and social interaction at the time the research was

undertaken. This was done to orient the analyst of the climate, actors, and issues in the communities. Likewise, newspaper articles were obtained specifically on issues in education (and other political acts) relative to the African-American population for the time period reconstructed by this study. The next step called for a systematic reduction of the list of informants in the notebook to the proportion of the indicated sample. This was necessary to more expeditiously survey them within the given constraints.

REDUCING COMMUNITY'S INFORMANTS FOR SAMPLING

To precisely control the selecting of informants, organizations serving the needs of the community were identified. Included among this list, were political organizations. Most of these associations were located in the midst of the population centers. Locating informed persons with a high probability of knowledge about the African-American community was determined more precisely by the number of A.A. persons involved in some aspects of an organization's operations. Obviously, the individuals most likely to be most informed were the organizations' top administrators. Indeed, when they didn't have information, they knew the appropriate source. In several instances it was someone within their organization. This procedure was supplemented by information gained in identifying informants in preliminary interviews. From the information in the case-study notebook, top knowledgeable persons in the areas of business, education, politics, and social services, organizations were identified for each town.

In sum, the informants selected were determined by the following criteria:

1. They had to be mentioned a frequent number of times. (The frequency scores for knowledgeable people were then arrayed from high to low).

2. They had to work in organizations in geographical proximity to the A.A. populations.

3. They had to be associated with organizations where a large number of A.A.s were receiving services or benefits.

4. They had to have a position in a community organization fitting one of the following categories: business, education, politics, or social-service organizations.

These organizations had to lend themselves to ranking by one or a combination of the following methods: assessed evaluation, total assets, amount of budget and the numbers in the A.A. population served. Knowledgeable chief executives, line administrators, and staff persons were identified in the top ranked organizations.

Table III summarizes the sampling procedure. The informants were reduced for surveying according to the above conditions.

Table III

Matrix of the Sixteen Combinations of Knowledgeable Types Distributed into Each Community

Knowledgeables	Urban	Suburban	Small City	Rural
Education	30	10	15	12
Business	26	21	20	18
Politics	22	19	10	13
Social Service	28	15	12	7
Sample Size	106	65	57	40

The above matrix represents the sixteen combinations of knowledgeable types distributed along the rural/urban dimension in each community. This matrix is used to make clear the distinction between "knowledges" and "leaders". The assumption being that while being "knowledgeable is necessary to being a "leader", it is not a sufficient criterion. Frequency scores were compiled for each cell showing distribution of informed individuals by town.

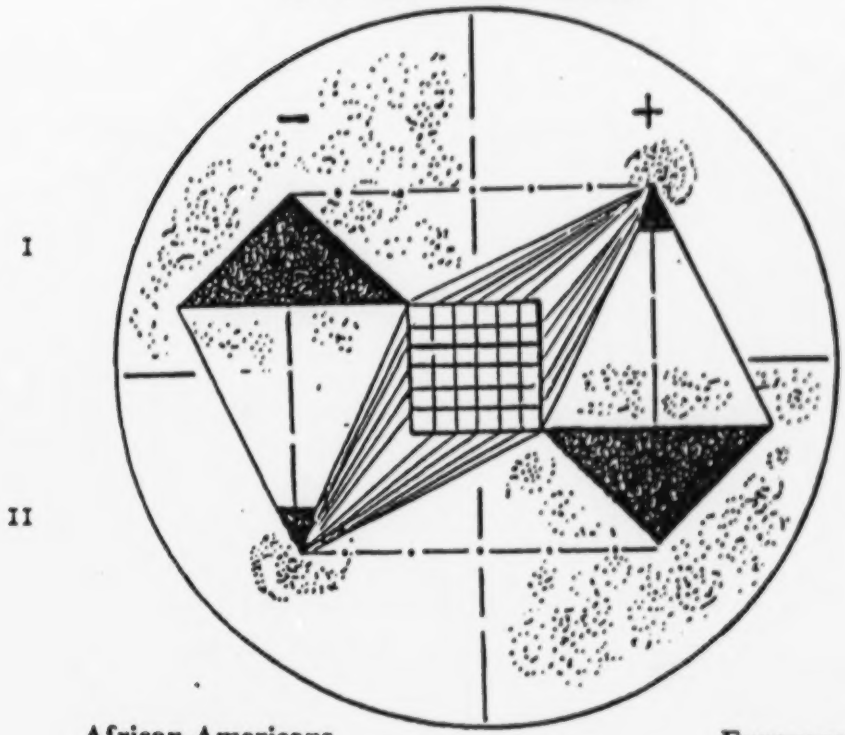
From the foregoing guidelines the analyst was able to reduce the large number of potential informants to a manageable size for surveying. After reducing the sample size for the respective communities, the knowledgeable people were surveyed.

TOOLS USED TO COLLECT THE SUBJECTIVE, ORIENTATIONAL AND OBJECTIVE DATA

Surveying the informed A.A. and E.A. persons in the respective categories for each community required a questionnaire that would motivate the selection of leaders in education from within and between the two groups. The sampling procedure required that the knowledgeable African-Americans select those leaders in education from among themselves. It also required that they select "white leaders" who were influential in getting benefits for the African-American community. Similarly, the knowledgeable whites identified those leaders from among themselves able to deliver educational benefits to the African-American community. Likewise, they selected African-American leaders capable of obtaining benefits for the black community. The following model was devised to clarify the function of the questionnaires in collecting the names of leaders to be ranked on Schulze's Scale. The model's specific purpose is to show how the leaders for each town's ethnic group were reduced to the top ten based on frequency scores. It clarifies the use of the statistical procedure revealed in Tables IV through VI. The model represents one town.

Figure 2

Systematic Model for Selecting Leaders
by the Reputational Method



This model is divided in half. A.A.s are in the left half; E.A.s are in right half. The halves are divided into quadrants. Quadrant I represents the masses of the A.A. populations. Dots representing people have clustered into pyramids. The pyramids represent the formation of a social structure with organizations, customs, traditions, rules, sentiments, status roles, with leadership guided by ideology. From the business, education, political and social service dimension of the community's knowledgeable persons are drawn. Quadrant II represents the selection of A.A. leaders by knowledgeable blacks and whites. Quadrant III represents the selection of E.A. leaders by knowledgeable whites and blacks. Quadrant IV represents the

masses of the white population. Quadrant I forms a polarized continuum with Quadrant IV along the dimensions of ethnicity. Four broken lines emanate from the four pyramids: they show the pattern of nominations. The vertical lines show the "within" group selections. The horizontal lines show the between group selections. Metaphorically, it is like a "camera obscura" (Fisher, 1969). It is conceptualized in the tradition of the "dialectical method" as it relates to social theory building (Ball, 1979).

Several lines emerge from this model in Quadrants II and III. These spindly lines signal the interaction taking place between identified (A.A./E.A.) leaders. The spiraling points in these quadrants represent the reduction of "influentials" in educational affairs produced by having the top ten persons forming the leadership dimension, in each ethnic group, to reciprocally indicate their degree of familiarity with one another. This is indicated by the matrix in the center of the model. Out of this matrix an index was generated. This variable is used as the measure of interaction. This procedure ensures that those selected knew one another.

Using the above model to direct the survey procedure, three separate mailings were used to obtain appropriate responses. Enclosed in the initial correspondence were three items. First, there was a letter of introduction. It explained the purpose of the study. Second, there was a leadership questionnaire. And third, there was a letter of endorsement for the study.

Table IV reveals the number of usable responses finally obtained.

Table IV

Usable Responses from Nomination of Leaders Via Questionnaire*

Town	(1) Total No. Sent Per Town To Informants	(2) Number Returned Per Town	(3) Usable Responses Per Town	(4)** Per Cent Col. (3) of Col. (1)
001	106	76	71	66.9
002	65	42	36	55.3
003	57	45	32	56.1
004	40	32	29	72.5
Totals	268	195	168	Avg. 62.6

* These figures represent the combined responses from both A.A.s and E.A.s.
** The percentage is the portion that column (3) is of column (1).

The next two tables, V and VI, show the number of leaders nominated and those accounting for the greatest percentage of the variance. This information was extracted from questionnaires deposited in the "Usable Responses" category (3) of the above table.

Table V

Number of Nominations for Each Community's
EUROPEAN AMERICANS VS AFRICAN AMERICANS

Town	(1) Usable Responses	(2) Educational Leaders' Nomination Per Town E.A.s	(3) Educational Leaders Nomination Per Town A.A.s
001	71	179	77
002	36	116	49
003	32	123	41
004	29	91	29
Total	168	509	196

Column (1) shows the number of usable responses returned from each community.
Column (2) shows the number of E.A. educational leaders nominated from each town. This column is repeated in Table VI column (1).
Column (3) shows the number of A.A. educational leaders nominated from each town. This column is repeated in Table VI column (5).

Table VI

Total Votes Cast for All Persons Nominated as Education Leaders With Variance Scores for the Top Ten Leaders

EUROPEAN AMERICANS VS AFRICAN AMERICANS

Town	(1) Total No. of Educational Leaders Nominated: E.A. s	(2) Total Votes Cast	(3) Top Ten E.A. Leaders Votes	(4) Per Cent Col. (3) of Col. (2)	(5) Total No. of Educational Leaders Nominated: A.A. s	(6) Total Votes Cast	(7) Top Ten A.A. Leaders Votes	(8) Per Cent Col. (7) of Col. (6)
001	179	473	133	28.1	77	121	89	73.5
002	116	189	71	37.5	49	96	64	66.6
003	123	327	102	31.1	41	130	72	55.3
004	91	143	57	39.8	29	110	78	70.9
Totals	509	1132	363	Avg. 32.1	196	457	303	Avg. 66.3

Column (1) is the same as column (2) given in Table V.
Column (2) shows the total votes cast for white leaders in education by A.A. and E.A. informants.
Column (3) shows the total votes cast for the top ten white leaders in education.
Column (4) shows the percent that column (3) is of column (2).

Note: The remaining table shows the same breakdown for African American leaders, i.e., columns 5, 6, 7, and 8. The reader should note with particular attention the variance scores for the top ten leaders for both ethnic groups in each town (see columns (4) and (8). This is the basis for reducing the two groups of leaders to the top ten to be placed on Schulze's Scale (more about this later).

The subjective scaling procedure is the next item considered.

The Subjective Scale

Table VI shows how informants cast their votes for educational leaders in the four communities. The nominated leaders from the respective communities were tabulated and arrayed in order from the most frequently nominated, to the least frequently nominated. This procedure reduced the pool of educational leaders to the top individuals (i.e., ten per ethnic group for each town were selected because they accounted for the greatest portion of the leadership variance.) The reader's attention is directed to Table VI. Note that columns 1-4 refer to the European-Americans nominated as education leaders. Column 2 shows the total votes cast for white leaders. Column 1 shows how many persons received these votes. In Town 001, for example, Column 2 shows 473 votes cast. The 473 votes cast were distributed among 179 different "leaders". (See Column 1). The ten highest scoring leaders received 133 of the votes (Column 3) or 28.1% of the total votes cast.

Similarly, note that Columns 5-8 refer to the African-American persons nominated as education leaders. In Town 001 (Column 6) a total of 121 votes were cast. Seventy-seven leaders received these votes (Column 5). The ten highest vote getters received 89 of the 121 votes cast. This represents 73.5% of the total votes cast for African American leaders. The top ten persons from each ethnic group nominated as educational leaders by the composite logic of the respondents of each community were placed on a list in the manner prescribed by Schulze.

Along with Schulze's Scale two lists of names were sent to each community. One list was composed of the top ten white leaders. It was sent to the respective communities' top A.A. leaders. Likewise, the list composed of the top ten A.A. was sent to the top ten E.A. leaders influential in the educational affairs of their community. The A.A. and E.A. leaders were asked to indicate their degree of familiarity with one another. Selecting from their mutual lists, they wrote in the names of the ten individuals with whom they have the greatest degree of acquaintanceship. Table VII shows the usable scales returned from the respective communities. Two mailings were needed to generate an appropriate response. Personal calls were made to collect instruments from non-respondents. The combined sample size was N=80.

Table VII

Sample Size and Usable Schulze Scales Returned from Louisiana Cities

Town	(1) E.A. Leaders Sample Size	(2) A.A. Leaders Sample Size	(3) Each Towns Combined Total	(4) Returned	(5) Usable	(6) Per Cent Col. (5) of (3) Col. (3)
001	10	10	20	15	15	75
002	10	10	20	19	18	90
003	10	10	20	20	19	95
004	10	10	20	16	15	75
Total	40	40	80	70	67	AVG. 83.75

Column (1) shows the top ten E.A. leaders sampled for each community.
Column (2) shows the top ten A.A. leaders sampled for each community.
Column (3) reveals the combined total for each community.
Column (4) shows the number of scales returned.
Columns (5) and (6) respectively reveal the usable responses and percentages.

The Orientation Scale

Kerlinger's Scale was sent to each school board member of the respective communities. In accordance with the directions for implementing the "Traditional and Progressive" Scale, each board was asked to return the instrument in a self-addressed envelope. Table VIII shows the number of board members receiving the scale for each community. In addition, it shows the number of responses returned and the number of usable responses. All board members were sampled (i.e., N=32).

Table VIII

Sample Size and Usable Responses from Kerlinger's Scale

Town	(1) Sample Size	(2) Scales Returned	(3) Usable Responses	(4) Per Cent Col. (3) of Col. (1)
001	7	5	5	71.4
002	9	7	7	77.7
003	9	6	6	66.6
004	7	4	4	57.1
Total	32	22	22	AVG. 68.2

Column (1) shows the total number of board members making up the sample for each community.
Column (2) shows the scales returned.
Column (3) shows the usable responses.
Column (4) is the percent that column (3) is of column (1).

Note: The data from this scale is reported in the analysis of data section.

The Objective Scale

The objective scale used in the presentation is constructed out of the notion that all policy out-puts in education are benefits. These benefits can be classified by their function. They have a "semiotic" value. Moreover, they provide insight into "political culture" (Dittmer, 1977). The degree to which a policy item falls, by consensus, into one of three categories of benefit types, serves as an index of political interaction and school culture. The three categories of benefits are: symbolic, distributive, and evaluative benefits. Symbolic benefits can be operationally defined as policy outputs which are expressions of public tributes and displays (Scribner, pp. 207, 1966). These benefits are merely observable impressions or signs that political interaction has taken place. An example of this kind of benefit would be an ethnic group's emblems, flags, or posters advertising respect for their concerns, etc. Martin Luther King's birthday presented on the School Board Calendar is a Symbolic Benefit.

The distributive benefits refers to the allocation of products and services provided by the school system for the African-American population. They usually require a substantial outlay of funds (Wildavsky, 1964). An example of this type of benefit is a curriculum with avowed purposes, goals, staff, and other supportive facilities for youngsters. In spite of the curriculum content and supportive services there are no scientific measures--with outcomes--to evaluate the

affects of the curriculum on the child. Therefore, this kind of benefit is distributive and the "only" feedback when making adjustments in the program is its cost.

The final benefit type along this policy output dimension is the evaluative benefits. This is a "transitive" benefit. It has measurable objectives. Its intent is to measure the "distribution of knowledge" (Schultz, 1962). The achievement of behavior objectives is measured relative to some criterion. The criterion is a test having "pre" and "post" standards to evaluate the effects of a curriculum program, or project on the attitudes, emotions, or intellectual growth of African-American youngsters.

From the foregoing, it is obvious that a scale can be constructed to sort the relative benefit pattern for a population. The specific construction procedure follows from the following assumptions and conditions. Education benefits form a continuum differentiated by symbolic, distributive, and evaluative policy outputs. The total sample of benefits for African-Americans are taken for this study. As mentioned, these benefits types are taken for the three-year period from 1990-1993. The benefits selected were those identified as specifically intended for the edification of the African-American population, etc.

The benefit scale was constructed by taking as the unit of analysis, the policy statement recorded in the School Board's minutes. Policies are formulated by a majority school board's vote in support of demands for benefits by the African American population. In order to accomplish this, a checklist was developed which identified all the possible combinations of benefit types distributed to the K-12 grade levels of the African-American student population. The analyst made specific note of the policies listed in the board's minutes with supporting documents connected to funding sources. The checklist was transformed into a "grammar" of

education benefits that served a very practical function. It allowed the researcher, insight into how school via their curriculum, reproduce cultural effects.

Because of the exploratory nature of the study, the researcher shares with the reader, the procedure used to aid the construction of the benefit scale. Obviously, symbolic, distributive and evaluative benefits are allocated to the primary, middle-and high-school grades. Based on this notion a 3 by 3 matrix was constructed to distinguish between the allocations made by grade levels. Nine grade level/benefit combinations emerged. The following table shows the types of combinations as revealed in the school board's minutes and supporting documents. This matrix brings into focus the categories used to sort and select the policies which make up the benefit scale. It was constructed according to the following conditions. This approach, also, provides a practical approach that speaks to the "transformative process," lost, yet central to critical theory (Robinson, 1994).

1. The policy statement must include the total benefit items found in the school board's minutes and related documents for four towns from 1990-1993.
2. There are three benefit types and three grade levels into which they are disseminated (i.e., the primary, the middle, and the secondary levels). By sorting the three benefit types into the three grade levels, nine policy types are identified.
3. Every effort is made to identify the funding source and other distinguishing features (e.g., pre/post-test measures) of policy types, so that precise statements are recorded defining the policy event most representative of each cell.

The benefits items scaled contained 218 policy statements. Depicted in Table IX, is a matrix showing Grade Level and Benefit Types.

Table IX

Matrix of Grade Level and Benefit Types

Grade Level	Symbolic	Distributive	Evaluative
1 Primary			
2 Middle			
3 High			

Role 1 shows the allocation of the benefit types to the primary level.
Role 2 shows the allocation of the benefit types to the middle school level.
Role 3 shows the allocation of the benefit types to the high school level.

Each policy statement on the questionnaire was followed by a structured Q sort procedure, so that the respondents could sort the policy statement for each school district. (Brown, 1980).

The instrument was administered to a panel of seven judges who were asked to sort the items. This group included the following:

(3) University Professors

(2) K-12 School Leaders

(2) Community Informants

The table shows the total sample size.

Table X

Benefits Distributed to the A.A. Population Observed by the Analyst

Town	Benefit Sample Size
001	94
002	63
003	37
004	24
Total	218

Table X shows the total benefits distributed to each African American community.

The Statistical Technique

Four statistical techniques are used in this study. They are select measures of central tendencies, Spearman's Rank Order Correlation, and the Chi-Square Test of Statistical Significance. Those measures given in governmental documents, etc. will not be discussed here. They are self explanatory. This discussion is concerned with the mean scores obtained from Schulze's Scale. This score is used in the fashion suggested by Schulze. In addition, a mean score is taken from Kerlinger's Education Scale. This measure is calculated in the manner prescribed by Kerlinger (1967) for Likert type scales.

Spearman's Rank Order Correlation is one of the measures of association used in this study. It is used as the statistical tool to measure hypotheses listed under questions: I, II, and III. Complementing the measures of correlations and central tendencies are the Chi-Square Test. The Chi-Square procedure is used, specifically, with question IV.

It is used to test the relationship between community types and the frequency of benefits distributed to each A.A. community. The hypothesis is designed to discern whether there is a significant difference in the educational benefits received by four A.A. communities.

The Focused Interview

The focused interview is the final procedure to be discussed in this report. Its importance to the research is that it serves to bind the separate features of the analytical method together. In this sense, the interview is a record of the informant's theory of the facts surrounding the schools' political situation. (This is very similar to the ethnographic process used in Anthropology).

As these views are aggregated, they offer an overview of the educational situation. They serve to adjust the focus of the analyst in interpreting events--events out of which trends are reconstructed. (Although the researcher interviewed more than forty persons, because of the time constraints... that material was not included in this report). However, the researcher will publish this information at a later date.

Findings on
The Relationship of Economic
Conditions to Education Policy

Question I. What is the relationship of the level of A.A. economic conditions to educational policy outputs? Measures that operationally define the concepts composing hypotheses 1,2 and 3 under the above query are presented. The measures are combined to show the relationship between the following variables.

H_1 - The higher the median income per A.A. family, the higher the frequency of policy outputs for A.A.s.

H_2 - The higher the mean level of adult education for A.A.s the higher the frequency of policy outputs for A.A.s.

H_3 - A high socio-economic condition for A.A.s will be associated with a high frequency of political interaction. Spearman's formula is used here.

Hypotheses 1: The higher the median income per A.A. family, the higher the frequency of policy outputs for A.A.s is the first sub-thesis examined.

From the data presented in Table XI, the hypothesis is generally confirmed. For example, Town 002 shows the highest "median family income" of $18,309 per A.A. family. It also shows the second highest frequency of "total policy output" for the A.A. population among the four communities. Town 001 shows a "median family income" of $15,305 per A.A. family. It shows the second highest frequency of "total policy output".

Table XI

Median Income Per A.A. Family Compared to Frequency of Policy Outputs from September 1990 to September 1993

Town	A.A. Median Family Income	Rank	Total A.A. Policy Output	Rank	d	d^2
001	15,350	2	94	1	1	1
002	18,304	1	63	2	1	1
003	13,916	3	37	3	0	0
004	12,048	4	24	4	0	0
$R_s = +.80$					2	d^2

Town 003 shows a "median family income" of 13,916. It shows a corresponding policy output total of 37 items. Town 002 shows an A.A. "median family income" of 12,048. It also shows that the A.A.s were the recipients of 24 policy items between 1990-1993.

In sum, all communities conform to the hypothesized association. There is a rank order correlation of $R_s = +.80$.

Hypothesis 2: The higher the mean level adult education for A.A.s the higher the frequency of "policy output for A.A.s". This is the second hypothesis to be treated under Question I. Table XII presents the specific data conforming to the variables in H_2.

Table XII

Comparing "Mean Adult Education" to "Policy Outputs"

Town	A.A. Mean Adult Education Level	Rank	A.A. Policy Output Total	Rank	d	d^2
001	11.6	1	94	1	0	0
002	9.4	2.5	63	2	.5	.25
003	8.2	3	37	0	0	0
004	9.4	7.5	24	4	1.50	2.25
$R_s = + .75$						$2.50\ d^2$

From the data presented in Table XII, hypothesis 2 is generally confirmed. For example, Town 001 shows the highest "mean adult education level" of 11.6 grades. It also shows the highest A.A. policy output total of 94. Town 002 shows the second highest "mean adult education level" of 9.4 for its A.A. population. It also shows a policy output total second only to Town 001 (i.e., 63). The reader will note some inconsistency between the ranks of the hypothesized relationship by comparing the four communities. For instance, 003 shows an A.A. "mean adult education level" of 8.2 and a corresponding "policy output total" of 37. Town 004 shows an A.A. "mean adult education level" of 9.4 and a corresponding "policy output total" of 24. However, Spearman's correlation of +.75 tends to confirm the hypothesized association.

In sum, Towns 003 and 004 are the communities which do not completely conform to the hypothesized relation. This inconsistency shows itself in the data for "mean adult education level" and the total frequency of "policy outputs".

Hypothesis 3: A high economic condition for A.A.s will be associated with a high frequency of political interaction. The Spearman's Rank difference coefficients will be the statistical formula used to test this hypothesis. Table XIII presents the data relevant to hypothesis 3.

Table XIII

The Economic Data Associated With Frequency of Political Interaction

Town	Economic Condition	Rank	Interaction	Rank	d	d^2
001	15,350	2	4.50	1	1	1
002	18,309	1	6.54	3	2	4
003	13,916	3	5.25	2	1	1
004	12,048	4	6.74	4	0	0

$R_s = +.40$ $d_2 = 6$

From the data presented in Table XIII, there is a low correlation in the positive direction between the variables "economic conditions" and "interaction frequency". This association is represented by the index $R_s = +.40$. The data tend to confirm the hypothetical association.

The Relationship of Political Interaction to Education Policies

The next set of hypotheses to be treated emanates from Question II:

What is the relationship of frequency of political interaction to educational policy output? The following hypotheses are tested using Spearman's formula:

H_1 -The higher the frequency of political interaction between A.A. leaders and the community power structure, the higher the frequency of educational policy outputs.

H_2 -The higher the congruence between the respective A.A. communities on interaction frequency, the higher their congruence on the frequency of educational policy outputs.

H_3 -There will be a high congruence between interaction frequency, median income per family, mean grade level attained, and the frequency of educational policy outputs for A.A.s in the respective communities.

Hypothesis 1: Examines the relative frequency of A.A. and E.A. leaders interaction and the extent to which that interaction correlates with high incidence of educational policy output. Table XIV shows the data relevant to testing the above hypothesis. (Totals are given here; they will be, subsequently, deconstructed).

Table XIV

The Relationship of Frequency of Interaction to Educational Policy Output Totals

Town	Total Number of Policies	Rank	Interaction	Rank	d	d^2
001	[illegible]	1	4.50	1	0	0
002	63	2	6.54	3	1	1
003	37	3	5.25	2	1	1
004	24	4	6.74	4	0	0

$R_s = +.80$ $d^2 = 2$

From the data displayed in Table XIV, the reader can observe that there is a high correlation in the positive direction between the variables "frequency of interaction" and "educational policy output". This association is represented by the index $R_s = +.80$. The data tends to confirm the hypothetical association.

Hypothesis 2: Examines the congruence between the respective A.A. communities on policy output and interaction frequency (i.e., the higher their congruence on interaction frequency, the higher their congruence on the frequency of education policy outputs. This hypothesis is tested by breaking down the total benefit types into their respective categories (i.e., symbolic, distributive, evaluative) for analysis (i.e. decoding). Three tables are used to display the "deconstructed benefits" data. They are Tables XV, XVI, and XVII.

Table XV

The Congruence Between A.A. Communities on Interaction Frequency and Symbolic Policy Output

Town	Symbolic Benefits	Rank	Interaction Frequency	Rank	d	d^2
001	31	1	4.50	1	0	0
002	15	3	6.54	2	1	1
003	17	2	5.25	4	2	4
004	5	4	6.74	3	1	1

$R_s = +.40$ $d^2 = 6$

From the data displayed in Table XV, the reader can observe the moderate positive correlation between the variables "symbolic benefits" and "interaction frequency". This association is represented by the index $R_s = +.40$. The reader should note that a moderate and positive pattern of interaction is recorded as a congruency score between "interaction frequency" and "symbolic policy output". The reader should also note that the complete case will be presented to affirm or reject the hypothesis after the balance of the data is presented in Tables XVI and XVII for distributive and evaluative benefit types and their relationship to political interaction.

TABLE XVI
The Congruence Between A.A. Communities on Interaction Frequency and Distributive Policy Output

Town	Distributive Benefits	Interaction Rank	Frequency	Rank	d	d^2
001	47	1	4.50	1	0	0
002	38	2	6.54	3	1	1
003	13	4	5.25	2	2	4
004	16	3	6.74	4	1	1

$R_s = +.40$ $d^2 = 6$

From the data displayed in Table XVI, the reader can observe a low positive correlation between the variables "distributive benefits" and "interaction frequency". This association is represented by the index $R_s = +.40$. By comparing Table XV to Table XVI the reader can observe a consistent pattern of congruency from a +.40 for "symbolic benefits" and "interaction frequency" to a +.40 for "distributive benefits" and "interaction frequency". This suggests that increased interaction frequencies correlates the same for symbolic benefits and distributive benefits across the four communities. The hypothesis is not confirmed. However, the association is moderate.

The next (Table XVII) shows the congruence between A.A. communities on frequency of interaction with the E.A. community leaders and the incidence of "evaluative" policy outputs.

Table XVII

The Congruence Between A.A. Communities on Interaction Frequency and Evaluative Policy Outputs

Town	Evaluative Benefits	Rank	Interaction Frequency	Rank	d	d^2
001	15	1	4.50	1	0	0
002	10	2	6.54	3	1	1
003	7	3	5.25	2	1	1
004	3	4	6.74	4	0	0

$R_s = +.80$ $d^2 = 2$

From the data displayed in Table XVII, the reader can observe the trend toward a higher positive correlation between the variables "evaluative benefits" and "interaction frequency". This congruency is represented by the index $R_s = +.80$. When the data from this table is compared to the data displayed in Tables XV and XVI, it facilitates the analytical deconstruction of the benefit totals and brings into relief a "grammar" for explicating their intent. As Harold Laski (1931) asserted: "Classes excluded from a share in power have always been classes excluded from a share in benefits".

Hypothesis 3: There will be a high congruence between interaction frequency, median income per family, mean grade level attained, and the frequency of educational policy outputs for A.A's. Table XVIII displays the data relevant to testing hypothesis 3.

Table XVIII

The Congruence Between Interaction Frequency, Median Income, Mean Grade Level, and Frequency of Education Policy Outputs for Four Towns

	Interaction Frequency	Median Income	Mean Grade Level	Frequency of Ed. Policy Output
Interaction Frequency		.40	.75	.80
Median Income			.60	.80
Mean Grade Level				.75
Frequency of Education Policy Output				

From the data displayed in Table XVIII a positive tendency of association is revealed in the direction of the hypothesis. The four communities show the highest congruency on the variables: interaction frequency" and "educational policy output" (i.e., .80), median income and "educational "policy output (.80). Two sets of variables: "interaction frequency" and "mean grade level"; "mean grade level" and "educational policy output," also have a high correlation of .75. In addition, there is a strong association between "median income" and "mean grade level at .60. Notwithstanding the moderate correlation for "interaction frequency and median income (i.e., .40) the hypothesis is generally confirmed.

The Relationship of Progressivism/ *Traditionalism to Education Policy Outputs*

The next set of hypotheses to be treated emanates from Question III: What is the relationship between "progressivism or traditionalism" to educational policy output? The following hypotheses are tested using Spearman's formula:

H_1-A high mean score on progressivism/traditionalism will be associated with high frequency of education policy output.

Table XIX
The Association Between Different Frequencies of Policy Outputs and Progressive/Traditional Mean Attitude Scores

Town	Number of Policies	Rank	Progressive/ Traditional Mean (A-B) Scores	Rank	d	d_2
001	94	1	.70	1	0	0
002	63	2	.38	3	1	1
003	37	3	.59	2	1	1
004	24	4	-.04	4	0	0

$R_s = +.80$ $\quad d^2 = 2$

The data in Table XIX shows a high positive correlation between the variables progressive/traditionalism and policy outputs. The reader should also compare the hypothesis confirmed here with results in Table XIV. There, the correlation between the variables "interaction frequency" and "educational policy" outputs are given (i.e., .80). The hypothesis is confirmed. Both results tend to support the theorized connection.

There is an association between the variables "frequency of policy output" and different" degrees of "progressive vs traditional" orientation in the positive direction as indicated by Spearman's index of +.80.

An interesting "contextual variable", for another study, would be the relative percentage of gubernatorial votes won by Duke vs. Edwards in the 1991 election for governor. A corresponding rank order would indicate something about the climate of the rural/urban sample represented here.

Question IV. Is there a difference in the pattern of educational benefits across a rural/urban continuum?

The statistical tool used in this test is the chi-square test.

This statistical procedure is used to ascertain whether there is a significant difference in the benefits distributed to four towns. Table XX shows the results.

Table XX

The Chi-Square Test of the Different Frequencies of Benefits Types Distributed to Four Communities*

Town	Symbolic	Distributive	Evaluative	Row Totals
001	31(29.3)	40(48.0)	23(16.8)	94
002	15(19.7)	42(32.1)	6(11.3)	63
003	17(11.6)	13(18.8)	7(6.1)	37
004	5 (7.5)	16(12.2)	3(4.3)	24
Column Totals	68	111	39	218

*Expected frequencies are in parentheses.
$X^2 = 17.021$ (6 df)
This is significant at the .05 level.

From the data presented in Table XX, the highest frequency of benefit types allocated to each community are "distributive benefits". This is followed by "symbolic benefits" which have the next highest incidence of occurrence. "Evaluative benefits" have the lowest incidence of occurrence. The essential findings revealed in the above table suggest that "benefits types" are dependent on community type and are therefore not randomly distributed. This is indicated by the fact that the $x^2 = 17.021$. This index is significant.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This presentation commenced by proposing for research the question: Are policy outputs in education for four African-American communities a product of political interaction? A model was designed with input/output functions designed along the system's framework. It was used to direct this investigation. The major focus of the research was to study the output component of the system's model as it relates to educational policy making. The literature showed that little research has been done to identify factors which economically account for the variable incidences of benefits types allocated to African American communities. The analyst was able to identify three policy types. They are "symbolic", "distributive", and "evaluative" benefits. These concepts were converted to frequency scores and sorted by a panel of judges. They were compared and correlated with the variables: "progressive/traditionalism"; interaction frequency; and socio-economic factors. The research also suggests that nothing is more practical than the formulation of a grammar to account for and guide critical thinking. This observation may quiet opponents of "Critical Theorist" who claim that they have no "practical" solutions to real educational problems.

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